

7th February 1925]

COMMITTEE TO INQUIRE INTO EXISTENCE OF CORRUPTION AMONGST  
SUBORDINATE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

Mr. K. KOTI REDDI :—“ The resolution that stands in my name runs as follows :—

*‘ That this Council recommends to the Government to appoint a committee of officials and non-officials to enquire into and suggest measures to put an end to the existence of corruption amongst the subordinate Government officials ’.*

“ I formally move the resolution.”

Mr. T. ADINARAYANA CHETTIYAR :—“ I second it.”

\* Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR :—“ I move that the further consideration of this motion be adjourned to the next non-official day available for non-official business.”

Rao Bahadur C. NATESA MUDALIYAR :—“ I second it.”

The motion was put to the House and carried.

Mr. Koti Reddi's resolution was accordingly adjourned to the next non-official day.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

\* Rao Bahadur C. NATESA MUDALIYAR :—“ The resolution that stands in my name runs as follows :—

*‘ That this Council recommends to the Government that at least 40 per cent of posts in both the “ lower ” and “ upper ” grades of the services under Government be reserved to the non-Brahman Hindus, 10 per cent to the depressed classes, 15 per cent to the Muhammadans, 10 per cent to the Indian Christians, 10 per cent to the Brahmans, the rest for the representation of other communities and for recruitment by competitive examination.’*

“ Sir, in our country, where the population consists of caste-tight, community-tight and race-tight compartments, where members of one community and those of another have nothing in common except colour and the country to which they belong, where there is as much difference between the members of one community and those of another community as there is between them and any other people from any land who may settle in our country. Communal differences are inevitable and communal adjustment is a necessity. The problem of communal representation has been engaging the attention of the Government even three-quarters of a century ago and in the Board's proceedings of 1854 it is stated that

*‘ The Collectors should be able to see that the subordinate appointments in their districts are not monopolized by the members of a few influential families. Endeavour should always be made to divide the principal appointments in each district among the several castes. A proportion of tahsildars in each district should belong to castes other than the Brahman and it should be a standing rule that the two chief revenue servants in the Collector's office should be of different castes.’*

“ That was the Board's proceedings of 1854 but evidently the Board's proceedings were not obeyed by the Board's subordinates as it is now the case that Government Orders are not obeyed by the Government servants. In 1911, a note was added that the ‘ last rule should be applied to the persons actually doing duty as huzur sarishtadar and head clerk and not to the persons who on paper hold those appointments ’.



[Mr. A. Chidambara Nadar] [7th February 1925]

"There was much discontent even then; but till the reformed councils were brought into existence the people had no opportunity of expressing their grievances. It was only when these councils were formed that we had an opportunity of moving resolutions. On the 2nd April 1921 a communal resolution was moved by my hon. Friend Mr. Thanikachalam Chettiyar about the appointments made by the High Court and it was promised by the Government that the discussion on the resolution would be communicated to the High Court. Again in August 1921 many of us gave notice of resolutions on communal representation and Mr. Thanikachalam Chettiyar moved the following resolution on the subject:

1 p.m. 'That this Council recommends to the Government that a standing order be issued to every officer or board or body of officers authorized to make appointments to the public service to give preference to candidates from the non-Brahman communities (including therein Christians, Muhammadans, and members of the depressed classes) until a proportion of at least 86 per cent amongst officers carrying a salary of Rs. 100 per mensem and upwards and a proportion of 75 per cent amongst officers carrying a salary of less than Rs. 100 are reached, within a period of seven years from this date so long as such candidates possess the minimum qualifications prescribed by the rules relating to appointments to the public services, although such candidates may be less qualified than Brahman candidates.'

"To the above resolution the hon. Sir Arthur Knapp moved an amendment:—

'that with a view to increase the proportion of posts in Government offices held by non-Brahmans, the principles prescribed for the Revenue department in Board's Standing Order No. 128 (2) be at once extended to all departments of the Government and be made applicable not only to the principal appointments but to posts of all grades, and that the Government should issue orders accordingly and insist on their being enforced, and that to this end half-yearly returns showing the progress made should be submitted by the head of each office. Such periodical returns shall be made available to the Members of the Legislative Council.'

"With only a little alteration this amendment was accepted by the Mover of the resolution and it was passed by the Council unanimously, every one of the members feeling that a real grievance was felt by the various communities. Even though the Government accepted this resolution they did not put it into practice. So in September 1922 there was another resolution on communal representation. But long before that, at the instance of the hon. the Leader of the House, Sir Charles Todhunter, a Government Order was passed from which I shall read a few extracts. In the course of G.O. No. 658, Public, dated 15th August 1922, it is said:

'In circulating these returns, the Government are not unaware that some dissatisfaction has been expressed with the fact that they are confined to persons newly entertained and a resolution was tabled for the substitution for them of returns of all appointments whether permanent, temporary or acting and whether the officers appointed were appointed for the first time or promoted from subordinate grades. The Government have examined the question of extending the scope of the returns in the sense suggested and are disposed to agree that some amplification is necessary if the returns are to show the progress made in the carrying out of the policy in the matter of the representation of various communities in the public service which is expressed in the Board's Standing Order, namely, that endeavours should always be made to divide the principal appointments in each district among the several castes. The Government recognize that, if the principal appointments are to be divided among the several communities, the lower appointments from which recruitment is made to them must be likewise divided, and are quite prepared to agree that, in order to give effect to this policy, other things being equal, the principle specified in the Board's Standing Orders should be given effect to both at the time of initial recruitment and at every point at which men are promoted wholly by selection and not by seniority.'

"The policy of the Government was declared in this Government Order in August 1922; yet we are surprised to find that it has not been given effect to. Government Orders are more honoured in the breach than in their observance. When the question of constituting the Staff Selection Board



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came up, I asked Sir Charles Todhunter whether the Board would be guided by the communal Government Order. He replied that it was only to give effect to that principle that the Board was constituted. Otherwise I would not have voted for it. Also when I saw that the Ministers had given up their power of appointments, I saw that there was no other hope for the various communities in this country except through the Staff Selection Board. My hon. Friend, Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliyar, put me a question whether I wanted communal representation or not and what I would do if the Staff Selection Board did not observe communal representation. I said that I would vote against it. Now the time has come to do so. The Government Order has been completely ignored by the heads of the departments who make the appointments. Communal representation is most important for the amelioration of the various communities."

Mr. R. VEEBRIAN :—"Hear, hear."

Rao Bahadur C. NATESA MUDALIYAR :—"That is the only way of building our nation. There is no other means whatever. People may belong to various political parties and may have different views on many questions. But all must agree that there is no salvation for India except through communal representation. The classes rise or fall with the masses. It is not only my opinion but even so high an authority as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald in his book 'The Government of India,' says at page 76 :

'Practically we must recognize that much of the bitterness between religious and social communities in India—like the organized opposition of the non-Brahmans in Madras to the Brahmans—is the opposition of injured inferiors to superiors. I have changed my mind on this point, because on careful consideration I see that certain communities that ought to be represented will not be represented except by special provision, that the representation of these communities will raise their status, and that it will bring them into that national co-operation in the Councils which is bound to issue not in division but in unity of interest and spirit.'

"With these few words I move my resolution."

Mr. A. CHIDAMPARA NADAR :—"Sir, in seconding the resolution I do not wish to go so far as my hon. Friend Mr. Natesa Mudaliyar. I cannot say that there are such water-tight compartments between caste and caste in this country as exist between the people of this country and the people of the other countries. So far as my experience goes, so many social disabilities under which the Nadar community was labouring under some twenty years ago are now slowly vanishing as education and knowledge spread in the different communities. I shall, however, take this opportunity of expressing certain grievances felt by my community with regard to appointments. Though my community is advanced in education, when they come to Government and apply for posts they meet with failure. So far as my knowledge goes there is only one in the Revenue Department as deputy tahsildar, and in the Police department there is none. In the recent selection of sub-inspectors of police even though some of my community applied, none was selected. In the Registration department there is only one Hindu Nadar who has passed the Intermediate examination and a branch of the B.A. examination. Even he is not taken in the upper grade. With regard to the Judicial Department I have brought to the notice of the Honourable House time and again that no one has been appointed including the Christian Nadars. In seconding the resolution brought forward by my hon. Friend Mr. Natesa Mudaliyar, I take this opportunity of pressing the claims of my community so far as the appointments to the public service are concerned."



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Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR :—" Sir, may I move my amendment?"

(Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar had given notice of an amendment on 6th February, 'That this Council recommends to the Government that a committee of this House be appointed to inquire and report as to the working of the policy laid down by the Government in G.Os. Nos. 658, dated 15th August 1922 and 76 dated 6th February 1924 and to suggest means to effectively provide for giving preference to competent candidates from communities which have not had their due share of appointments in public service until the existing inequalities are removed.')

\* Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—" No, Sir, the amendment seems to be a recent amendment. The wording is very objectionable and if that is permitted we want to give further amendments."

\* The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—" Sir, apart from this resolution which has succeeded in the ballot there is a large number of resolutions tabled more or less of a similar nature. I think that Government would like to know what exactly it is that the Council wishes to recommend. Firstly there is Mr. Natesa Mudaliyar's resolution that this Council recommends to the Government that at least 40 per cent of posts in both the 'Lower' and 'Upper' grades of the services under Government be reserved for non-Brahman Hindus, 10 per cent for the depressed classes, 15 per cent for the Muhammadans, 10 per cent for the Indian Christians, 10 per cent for the Brahmans, the rest for the representation of other communities, and for recruitment by competitive examination. Mr. Obalesappa has recommended to the Government that the graduate members of the barber community may be appointed by direct recruitment to the higher grades of the Government service. Mr. Sagaram wishes the Council to recommend to the Government that the members of the toddy-drawing community of the Telugu country should be adequately represented in all the departments of the Government service. Mr. Abdul Hye wishes the Council to recommend to the Government that 25 per cent of the superior and inferior appointments in all the Reserved and Transferred departments be reserved to the members of the Mussalman community and that till that proportion is attained recruitment from all other communities be suspended; and that a committee consisting of officials and non-officials be appointed with a non-official majority to give effect to the recommendation immediately. Mr. Muhammad Moosa Sait also has tabled a resolution to the same effect. Mr. Chidambara Nadar has tabled a resolution recommending to the Government that 25 per cent of the higher appointments in Government service should be reserved for minority communities such as Nadars, Viswakarma Brahmans, etc. There is a considerable amount of conflict between these resolutions and I think Government can reasonably expect to know definitely what the Council does recommend before they are asked either to accept or reject it."

\* Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR :—" It is to meet this difficulty as well as on account of the variety of suggestions that are being made to the Government that I have given notice of the amendment which is now before you, Sir."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" Two clear days' notice of the amendment has not been given. Does any member object?"



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Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU :—" I object, Sir."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The Standing Order says that the objection shall prevail unless the President in the exercise of his power to suspend this order allows the amendment to be moved."

\* Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR :—" May I just say a word with reference to that, Sir? Now we are at 1-15 p.m. and I think we have agreed to adjourn at 1-30. So, even if you give permission to move the amendment, I would not be able to finish my speech to move it, not to say of its being seconded. We will not be able to go very far in the discussion to-day. I suggest that there will be ample opportunity for Members to move amendments at the next meeting on the non-official day to which this resolution may be adjourned. In this view, there may not be any sort of injustice or anything of the kind in allowing the amendment to go forward."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" I would advise the hon. Member, Mr. Saldanha, to reserve his amendment till the next opportunity arrives for discussing it along with similar amendments, as we have only a few minutes more for the discussion of this resolution."

\* Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—" I accept the suggestion made by the hon. the President and would defer also to the wishes of my own party having agreed to withdraw the amendment in fact and to accept the proposed amendment regarding the committee, with the qualified remark that as to the question of communal representation which has been to the forefront, the first qualification, the main qualification before Government for an appointment either in the higher or lower service is one of education. And, if there is a community which is strong, powerful, wealthy, which is afforded every protection in the public service, every opportunity for education, etc., and enjoys all the facilities, I do not see any reason why such a community or communities should clamour for a larger distribution of the loaves and fishes in proportion to their numerical strength and not in proportion to the educated men available in that community. If, on the other hand, there is one community which sacrifices its comfort and money and educates its children, both boys and girls, at very great cost and has produced a very large number of educated and qualified people, qualified for all posts, I do not see why that community should not be given the consideration which it deserves. We don't see why we Indian Christians who have been always loyal and devoted should at this time find ourselves in the condition in which we are. It is the people who clamour and clamour that get the best, while we who have been, more or less, not clamorous, do not get our due. As I am not going to move my amendment as worded at present, I only say these few words, and would defer to the amendment which has been proposed by the Leader of the Party." (A voice: 'No leader of the Party.')

Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU :—" The object of my objecting to the amendment being permitted to be moved is this, that we do not know exactly where we stand with reference to this amendment."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" There is no amendment now."

Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU :—" What I do say is this. It is high time that some protest is raised to this sort of discussing things on a communal basis in this Council. People have been very patient all these



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years in the hope that this communal question would subside. But, notwithstanding the fact that Dr. Natesa Mudaliyar and some others had crossed the floor and came to the Opposition ('Hear, hear'), we now see that he has not left this behind him." (Laughter.)

Rao Bahadur C. NATESA MUDALIYAR :—" I stand stronger for it to-day, Sir." ('Hear, hear.')

Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU :—" And that is the very reason why, notwithstanding the change of sides, there is no change of heart. That is the very reason why I say that some protest should be raised upon this question though it has to be done somewhat late. This question is not a very easy question to solve. They think that the question would be solved by increasing the number of non-Brahmans to be appointed. They think that by increasing the number of appointments to be given to non-Brahman Hindus and to all other communities except Brahmans, the question will be solved. But I do sound a note of warning if this is the policy that is going to be adopted by the party in power. They have got now the giant's strength. Do they mean to use it as a giant? To me, Sir, it appears that it is their duty to protect the much abused and much maligned Brahman class." (Cries of 'No, no.')

Mr. P. ANJANEYULU :—" I, as a Brahman, seek protection from nobody, Sir."

Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU :—" I may be only one solitary man who protests here, but it may be taken that this is a protest from the voiceless and patient many. For ages and ages they have been patiently bearing all the abuses that have been thrown against them not only by our own brother Hindus but by people belonging to other religions. We have survived, we will survive ('Hear, hear'), and time cannot uproot the Brahman class. The note of warning that I am going to sound is this. Among the Brahman classes 90 per cent are educated and of them nearly 50 per cent are English educated. If you go to any school, you will find the Brahman number preponderating. They pass in examinations, and you want to shut them out of employment. Now, Sir, you are a party in power. Find out first the way by which they may live. They have been fed on hopes that by English education they can obtain some employment. With that hope, they have passed examinations. Suddenly the party in power comes now and says 'Well, you have had your day; you had better keep out'. Now, is it not the duty of the Government . . . ."

Mr. A. CHIDAMBARA NADAR :—" May I know whether the hon. Member belongs to the Opposition?"

Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU :—" Yes, I belong to the Opposition now, because both the Opposition and the Ministerial party have joined. . . ."

Mr. R. VERRIAN :—" May I know from my hon. Friend the influence which the so-called Brahman community has got in each and every department?" (Laughter.)

Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU :—" I am not going into those details, Sir. I am confining myself only to the particular facts. Without



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finding a way to employ these persons, you are letting them loose. What is the result? There is discontent. Where will they go? They will revive non-co-operation. Further, Sir, on account of the discontent, I request the Government to take note of this: the discontent will not stop with mere discontent. Perhaps it may lead to revolution. Perhaps it may lead to anarchy. (Cries of 'Oh, oh' and 'Hear, hear'.)

"I hope, Sir, that there may not be a time when the Bengal Ordinance may have to be invoked in this Presidency also. You allow educated people to go adrift in the streets. What will idle hands do? They will have to find some employment; and that employment will not only be to the detriment of the country but to the detriment of the very party in power, and it may be also to the detriment of all nationalism in the land. Would you like to promote nationalism and develop national unity or would you like to divide people into compartments? Of course, non-Brahmans include all the created beings except Brahmans (laughter). Now, this resolution wants to further subdivide the people into Christians, Muhammadans, depressed classes, non-Brahman Hindus and so forth. Now, Sir, is this good to the country? Is it in the interests of the Government itself? (Cries of 'No, no.'). In the olden days the Brahmans were given shrotriyams and agraharams. Now let the Government undertake, let the party in power undertake to encourage Brahmans as the old kings had done (laughter), and from today forwards we shall go to the forests ('hear, hear' and cheers). What do we want? Sufficient to eat and clothe ourselves with, and we shall go. But is the present Government going to give us shrotriyams? On the other hand, you find all the radical papers saying 'Why do you feed the idle Brahman?' . . ."

Mr. A. RANGANATHA MUDALIYAR:—"Are the other people given shrotriyams, Sir?"

Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU:—"What I say is that from old times the Brahmans have always been respected for their education. Their only weapons were their pen and tongue. We Brahmans are prohibited from tilling or employing ourselves in other avocations. (A voice: 'By whom?'). By us, Sir (laughter). And now, what our elders did we are trying to do. Show us some other means. . . ."

Mr. B. MUNISWAMI NAYUDU:—"May I ask my hon. Friend and the community who are at present practically in power whether they will show us some method for our unemployed members?"

Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU:—"We had done it. We are not tillers of the soil. We have made kings and made others to occupy the lands. Well, now, will the non-Brahmans to-day give up their lands? And we shall give up education (laughter)."

Mr. K. KOTI REDDI:—"Will you give up your lands?"

Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU:—"Yes, Sir. So, the division of labour has been effected. . . ."

Mr. R. VEERIAN:—"May I know from my hon. Friend whether the Brahmans suffered from any disease with reference to getting appointments as non-Brahmans and other so-called depressed classes are suffering from?"



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Mr. P. ANJANEYULU :—“ On a point of order, Sir, may I know whether hon. Members can put questions or supplementary questions when another hon. Member is speaking unless it be on a point of order ? ”

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“ They cannot.”

Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU :—“ I thank my hon. Friend of course, but I am capable of answering every one of these questions. I therefore submit, Sir, that this matter is a very important one and should not be treated so lightly, especially when the party in power wants these privileges to the detriment of a particular class. I submit, Sir, I would not be wrong—far wrong—in saying that they take advantage of the power that it is in them and thereby want to aggrandise for themselves things which they would not get by virtue of merit alone. Well, Sir, will you render yourselves open to that criticism ? I therefore say in the interests of the very party in power, in the interests of the Government and the country, that you are driving a class out of their living. You are not providing for that particular class and will that particular class not feel discontent, and will it not be a cancer on the body politic ? (‘ Hear, hear. ’) Therefore I submit, Sir, that this is not a point which will go unchallenged hereafter. I personally, Sir, have my own view, and it is quite a different one. I do not express my personal view here, but I do express the view that is felt by the class of people in this Presidency. If I am asked to administer a particular policy of the Government, I will do it loyally. That is the nature of the Brahman always (‘ Hear, hear. ’) A Brahman will fight for privileges and rights and even if he loses and even if he is asked to administer it against his will, he will carry out the policy loyally and with ability. How has the Civil Service got so much name and fame for having ruled India so well all these 150 years ? (‘ Hear, hear. ’) I will give you 30 years, Sir, and I am quite sure that the 150 years worth of British rule will be undermined during the next 30 years if you are going to persist in the policy you are now pursuing.”

Mr. A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ May I ask my friend if he means to retain the steel frame for the next 30 years ? ”

Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU :—“ Is the party in power going to work the soft frame for half of that time ? ”

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—“ The hon. Member has finished his speech. The House will now adjourn till the 2nd March 1925.”

The House accordingly adjourned.

R. V. KRISHNA AYYAR,  
*Secretary to the Legislative Council.*